UNDER WHICH FLAG

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THE GREAT

QUESTION

OF

CANADA

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Under Which Flag?

The Great Question for Canada.

Also a Brief Consideration of Imperial Federation, and a View of Naturalization as an Immorality.

By a Canadian in "the States."

Frank Munro

CITY OF WASHINGTON
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THE INTRODUCTION.

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WHY shall I, a Canadian, rise in the parlor of my hospitable American host and declare that my country's integrity must and ought to be preserved? The proceeding is certainly unusual; but Uncle Sam himself, or at least some of his more or less responsible lawmakers, with a joyous absence of the conventional, long ago issued the invitations for an international symposium on the annexation question. To this, some of my expatriated countrymen have already eagerly contributed.

I must, however, deny the right of men who have, through motives of expediency, or through any motives, gone out of the national life of their country; who have solemnly

renounced all fidelity to it; who teach by example that nationality is but an article of merchandise: I deny the right of these men to say what shall be done with the country they have deserted. The particular question of annexation, or of independence, or of imperial federation, is one which belongs to the Canadian who, wherever he may be, maintains the wholeness of a God-given character; who ranks loyalty, whether it be to kin or country, as among the highest virtues; who will not cringe, or yield what he conceives to be his native rights because of threats, no matter from whom; and who has not seen in the barriers and artificialities of short-sighted governments a doom from God.

Loving, as I do, my own country and its traditions and its splendid history, I feel that I shall be all the more a good resident—temporary it may be, or permanent—of the Republic, or of any other country in which I may be placed. I cannot conceive of a man being false to any person or thing

who is religiously true to himself and his conscience.

This little work is not intended to alarm or irritate, but to conserve. The principles involved in annexation and in naturalization are believed to be essentially *moral* principles; and a just settlement will not only tend to benefit the nationalities concerned, but humanity in general.

If we are to endure as peoples we must build the commercial on the moral, not the moral on the commercial.

A CANADIAN IN "THE STATES."

Boston, Mass., U. S. A., March, 1893.

"The Annexation of Canada."

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IN the absence of that universal benevolence which, we are sometimes told, is one day to rule at least the foreign policies of the nations, it may be safely assumed that an enlightened patriotism is of essential importance to a strong national life. The principle of friction is yet to accomplish much for the world, if, indeed, it shall ever be dispensed with.

This being so, every evidence of well-timed nationalism on the part of an individual is, or should be, gratifying to his fellow-citizens; and every lapse is, or should be, mortifying and abhorrent, not only to his own but to every other people. We will do well to remember that there is more danger to a country in an absence of the genuine patriotic instinct than there is in an undue development of it.

Americans have built Bunker Hill Monument, and established forever the Fourth of July, and preserved old Faneuil Hall that the lessons of patriotism shall not be lost to them and to their children; yet they welcome a citizen of another country wearing the uniform of the Queen's loyal Canadian militia who virtually comes to tell them

—and in that Faneuil Hall, too—that there is no such thing as patriotism ; who comes to advocate the dismemberment of his magnificent empire and the absorption by an alien nation of an honest and contented, and, with a few odiously conspicuous exceptions, a proud people !*

Lieutenant Macdonald, now properly "ex," by the heroic decision of the Canadian minister of militia, has been applauded by the American business man for exemplifying the doctrine of perfidy which the same business man's child is properly taught to regard with abhorrence ! What a demoralizing object-lesson for the youth of this country ! What a demoralizing object-lesson for the youth of any land !

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The annexation question has, indeed, been early lugged up to the very portico of the House of Politics, though it would have been more seeming if the burden had lain on the shoulders of Canadians who were unhampered by office, the acceptance of which office always implies loyalty to the government which created it. Hasty critics could not then so clearly make the deduction that the Canadian character is a perfidious one.

*Lieutenant Macdonald of Toronto, Canada, was the principal guest and speaker at an annexation banquet given in Boston, Mass., in the fall of 1892, by the Business Men's Association.

But looking into the faces of the young sons of Canada who in 1885 left stores and workshops and marched through wildernesses of snow, enduring unprecedented hardships, to face the bullets of a trained host of revolting half-breeds—and who put them down, too: looking into the faces of these I know I do not err in saying that the great question so recently precipitated is one which will be met honestly and fearlessly. It will be settled, too, as befits a people dowered with rare physical and mental vigor—by the arbitrament of the reason, digging down to the basis of morals and standing on the bed-rock which is character!

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The instinct of nationality is, I conceive, due to a long process of nature, involving a community of interests and associations—victory and defeat, glory and even shame. Some one has well said that "all the virtues of past days work their health into these." That community of interests, or rather the social organization which resulted from it, was necessary in order that the end of happiness might be attained. How, then, can the instinct, as some writers assert, be considered of doubtful purity? It appears to be simply the product of a great universal law of our being.

He, therefore, who advocates the wholesale absorption of an alien people—of a people, even,

whose history had divided from his own so recently as a century or more ago—does not take account of normal human nature. He would introduce a poison into the body politic which, if it did not break out sooner or later in an eruption, would necessarily become the agency to enforce the penalty of immorality and ignorance by insidiously lowering the standard of the race.

True, as a logical sequence, the people absorbed would become in the process of centuries endowed with a new and different instinct of nationality. But is not the penalty of all this too great?* Would it pay, to use the popular phrase? Would it not, after all, be better to have strong and moral allies than weak and immoral subjects?

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Canadians have nothing to gain by annexation to the United States, and it would seem that they have more than national honor to lose. If freedom of trade is desirable—and who will deny it?—*both countries are now suffering by the absence of that freedom.* It is just as right (and certainly more profitable and business-like) to abolish or lower tariffs *now* as to wait in the hope that a political union might be consummated first. The code of governmental ethics which would maintain

*The case of Ireland may, perhaps, be cited as an example and as a warning.

a McKinley tariff wall in the hope of coercing an intelligent people into national extinction is not creditable to the nineteenth century, and certainly shows an astounding lack of perception.* No people ought to, and no self-respecting people will be forced or even led into the committing of an immorality, for a change of allegiance under normal conditions would certainly be an immorality.

The press of the Republic idly talks about Canadians counting on a "deficiency of patriotism" in Americans; but are not Americans, by their own too bald statements, counting on an unheard-of deficiency of patriotism in Canadians? Does the leading paper of the metropolis of the New World mean to say that what is a virtue in its own people is a vice in aliens?

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Erastus Wiman, the denationalized Canadian and renationalized American, standing on the hill-tops which skirt the border line and descrying — the tariff wall being levelled — prosperity and happiness on either hand is a picture always attractive, if, in truth, a little worn. The economist, as he no

*It appears that the Canadian Tories are counting on a *deficiency of patriotism* and foresight on the part of the Democratic Administration at Washington. They mistakenly imagine that Mr. Cleveland will give them something for nothing, and thus enable them to prop the sinking cause of monarchy in Canada. Mr. Clarke does not hesitate to speak words of warning on this subject. It cannot be, he says, too strongly impressed upon Americans that the continental union

doubt likes to be called, never fails to secure a respectful hearing, which his reasoning would not always seem to justify. For instance, in a recent address in Woonsocket, R. I., he said — and this was Mr. Blaine's position, too — that, to have reciprocity, Canada must discriminate against goods from the mother country and in favor of those from the United States. Apart from the morality of such a proceeding is the question of economics. Why should Canada bind herself to buy in the dearest markets? Why should she exclude the low-priced goods of free-trade England and admit the dearer products of this protected country? It would be asking too much of the government at Ottawa, which might be justified in requiring, as a part return for its sacrifice, that Canadians be allowed to share in the present favorable arrangements of the United States with the Latin-American countries.

The true solution, it would seem, of the Canadian trade question, and of the English question, and of all like questions is not alone reciprocity, with the

movement arises from economic and not from political causes. The originators of the movement want to enjoy all the commercial advantages of American citizenship. If the Democratic party chooses to make them partakers in those advantages by extending the free list of the American tariff, most of those Canadians who are now annexionists will cease to be so.—[N. Y. *Sun*.

It is for our Democratic rulers to decide whether we want Canada on our own terms or not. The maintenance of the agricultural sections of the McKinley tariff is the essential condition.—[Brooklyn (N. Y.) *Times*.

limitations which it implies, but *low tariff*. It might then be to Canada's interest and advantage to buy many things of the United States; and (but this is secondary) freedom of intercourse being established, Mr. Wiman and other unethical people could not so readily be led into giving such advice as has been noted, which if made under what would be parallel conditions — within the circle of a family — would be regarded as injudicious and impertinent.

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Would annexation stop emigration from Canada and raise wages in that country, as has been asserted? It has not raised wages in the South, which is notoriously annexed; nor has it stopped the migration from Maine, nor from New Hampshire, nor from Vermont. In these New England States wages are no higher, and in some instances are lower than in Canada. The farmers of the Maritime Provinces may complain, but they have not yet been forced to the extremity of abandoning their farms!

In the grand Commonwealth of Massachusetts, perhaps the banner state in many respects of the American Union, the number of abandoned farms reported in 1890 reached the large number of 1,461, the aggregate acreage of which was 126,509¼.* A similar condition of things exists in other New

*Report of the Mass. Bureau of Statistics of Labor, March, 1890.

England states, and even in the West, where, according to the same authority, "more farms have been deserted by their owners than in the East."

In the face of this testimony even Canadian annexationists — if there are really any such — whose only gods are Materiality and Profit — who inscribe the words "Selfishness" and "The Present" on their banner — must pause and put the mean query: Would annexation pay?

But it will be well for all to remember that the material prosperity of a people is due chiefly to their own efforts and enterprise, aided more or less by nature. The *system* of government (always provided that it is representative) has practically nothing to do with their welfare, although the administration of affairs, such as the imposition of tariffs, may have an influence. The farms of Massachusetts were not abandoned because the nation is a republic, nor would they be reoccupied if it should become a limited monarchy; the restless young men of Canada do not leave their native land because it is an appendage of the British crown, nor would they any more stay at home if it were annexed to "the States." The movements to certain centres simply go on in obedience to natural laws, and the flow presupposes an ebb.

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Goldwin Smith, who has been harshly but not

without a large measure of truth styled "The Renegade Englishman," (he is unique in this position, and almost alone, let it be said with pride, in the history of his race!) is just now masquerading as an annexationist. He is the president of the so-called Continental Union Association, and at a meeting in Toronto, Canada, on Jan. 28, 1893, said:

> Suppose there had been no schism of one race in America, and these provinces had always remained united to their own continent, would anybody but a lunatic dream of tearing them away from it and attaching them politically and commercially to a nation on the other side of the Atlantic? When it would be lunacy to divide is it not wisdom to unite?

But hold, Mr. Smith. It may be "brilliant" to set up a man of straw to suit the exigencies of your poor pugilistic logic, but it is not honest. You have ignored the actual, and drawn yonr deduction for annexation from the imaginary. Let us deal with facts. There *was* a "schism," but Canada was not active in it. The American states, dissevered, gradually took on a new nationality. Canada retained its own. At this late day the question of their union is not simply one of wisdom but of practicability, as the consolidation of Austria and Germany is not a question of wisdom but of practicability.

The manifest part for wisdom to play is to recognize normal human nature, and to secure unrestricted trade relations.

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But Mr. Smith has said many excellent things in the past. Some of them do not, however, harmonize well with his present political-union utterances. The following incidental criticism of one feature at least of the American constitution—under which he would now bring Canadians — is a case in point:

In international courtesy Great Britain can hardly be said, in recent times, to have been wanting. It seems possible even that her civility may at times have appeared to Americans a little overstrained. It must be left to Americans to say whether there has been anything overstrained in the civility towards Great Britain of American legislatures and politicians, or even of American presidents, when elections were likely to turn on the Irish vote. The American constitution itself, by submitting treaties to discussion in the Senate after negotiation with the President, gives an opening for breaches of diplomatic courtesy, which, when Great Britain is concerned, are seldom allowed to go unimproved. To have, after framing a treaty with the President, to wait in the anteroom of the Senate, and then to be publicly dismissed with contumely, can never be agreeable to a government accustomed to the diplomatic etiquette and amenities of the old world.

He further says (or did say) :

British Canadians love a mother country which has never wilfully given them cause for complaint, and they take hostility to her as hostility to them.

And yet the same Mr. Smith who displays (or did display !) this admirable spirit, and who is such a stickler for form, now asks Canadians to have no spirit and no sense of form ; asks them to desert the glorious flag which has shielded them, and which he admits they love, and, foregoing honor, merge themselves with aliens whom he himself severely criticises, and with whose government he finds serious fault.

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In 1889 a resolution looking to the annexation of Canada was introduced in the United States Senate. This has been followed, in 1893, by a bill with the same object in view, introduced by Mr. Cummings in the House of Representatives, which appropriates $250,000 to defray the expense of "missions"—the financial clause, by the way, being an ingenuous admission of the backward and unspontaneous nature of the political-union movement. Here is the most flagrant and dangerous violation of international courtesy, and yet we do not hear Mr. Smith's voice raised in eloquent protest ! A champion of honor who does not cham-

pion honor certainly puts himself in a position to be speedily humiliated and discredited when he presumes to advise and direct intelligent people.

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The answer which Canada made to the first annexation resolution in the United States Senate was a clever counter-motion in the Parliament at Ottawa, introduced by John B. Mills, and designed merely to show absurdity in the American move. The motion was as follows:

That it appears the advisability of a union between Canada and the United States is now being very generally discussed throughout said Republic, and the commercial advantages of such a union are considered by some of the leading business men in the Republic to be of much importance.

That it also seems as if the experiment of Republican government has ever proved a practical failure, and there are strong indications that the dissolution of the federation known as the United States is imminent; and the spread of anarchy, or the building up of other foreign powers in the adjacent states, known as the New England States, might imperil British interests on this continent.

That facts go to show that the said New England States, since severing their connection with the British Crown, have not made nearly as great progress, relatively, as the Provinces of Canada, and while their return to their old allegiance would not only materially advance the trade and promote the prosperity of the people living in those states, it would be of probable benefit to the neighboring provinces.

That it is a recognized fact that the population of these states includes many thousands of British-born people, who still owe allegiance to our sovereign lady, the Queen, though they have taken up their residence in those states.

That it is also well-known that one of the leading and influential papers of Massachusetts, representing the most important interests of that Commonwealth, is urging a federation with Canada upon the citizens of the United States.

That the Parliament of Canada now assembled views this agitation with sympathy, and will do all in its power to aid in the annexation of such New England States, and that His Excellency the Governor General in Council be, and is hereby empowered to co-operate with Her Majesty's government in securing such an amendment to the Act of British North America as may be necessary to extend the boundaries of the Dominion of Canada; such boundaries, however, not to be extended in a westerly direction beyond the Connecticut River, the Green Mountains and Lake Champlain

That while the people of Canada represented by their Parliament are willing to welcome such of these New England States as wish to return to their old allegiance, they regard such a union as being more in the interests of said New England States than in that of Canada, and are unwilling that any force or undue influence should be used to bring about such a federation; nor would the people of Canada be willing to assume any burdens of debt of said New England States other than such as may be represented by the public works and buildings in such states as would be vested in the Crown, in case said states were admitted into the Dominion.

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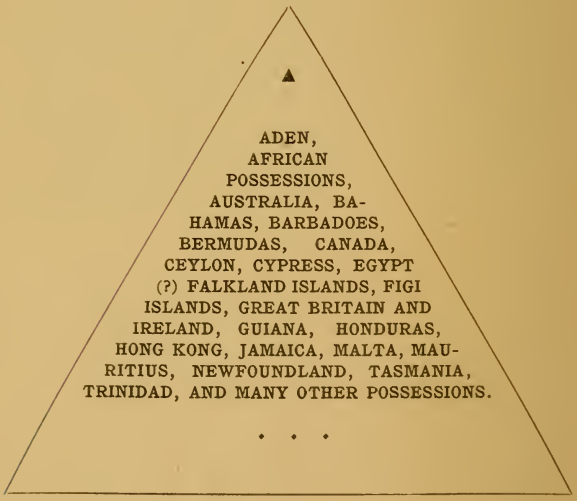
It was asserted by a speaker at the big Montreal

annexation meeting that Canadians are "more loyal to their grandmother across the sea than they are to their own mother here." He exaggerated the truth—on one side! They are not *more* loyal, but may be *as* loyal. And it will not be necessary to remind a well-balanced man or woman that reverence of one's honorable antecedents is a redeeming peculiarity of human nature, and that an acknowledgment of obligations is a mark of good breeding.



Imperial Federation: Permanence:
Christianity: Progress.

Imperial Federation.

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IT would seem that the natural destiny of Canada, and of all the British dependencies, is in our present civilization to become more firmly cemented in a union with the mother land. True, as has been often said, colonies have generally in the world's history become independent, *but this was not in obedience to, but because of the violation of a law.* Even so clear a thinker as the Canadian Liberal leader, Mr. Laurier, has been confused here. The injustices which made history in the past do not exist irremediably to-day, at least not under the British flag. Besides, the cable, the telegraph, and quick transportation now bind together and render wieldy what would have been disjointed and unmanageable a century or more ago.

The great argument which has been made in the colonies, particularly in Canada, against imperial federation is that a dependency might be drawn into a war which would not directly concern it. Canadians, for instance, might not wish to spend blood and money fighting for Australia, and the New Zealanders might object to giving military aid for the saving of India. *But would not a union reduce the possibilities of war for the component parts to a minimum?* As they are now they are more or less liable to hostile attacks.

Would not a consolidation of young and vigorous and growing countries—of Canada, of Australia, of India—the people marshalling under the meteor flag of Britain, serve to awe an aggressor? Would not the Gigantic Federation be able, under enlightened and Christian statesmen, to *command* the world to cease its strife and be just to the race?

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Great as is the value of British citizenship now, it would be much enhanced under imperial federation. And in this connection an article from a recent American newspaper is reproduced showing, by way of contrast, and for the benefit of annexationists, the inadequacy of the protection afforded citizens of the Republic. The writer is himself somewhat familiar with the case, and can say that the editorial, which follows, is not at all overdrawn:

A BLOT ON THE HARRISON SCUTCHEON.

One stain, not generally apprehended, on the Harrison administration—and necessarily a great reproach to the American people—is the unavenged outrages perpetrated over two years ago by the Spanish soldiers on our missionaries in Ponape, one of the Caroline islands. Secretary Blaine, during his term of office, had all the facts indisputably set before him. He was shown how the several spiritual teachers of the natives were driven into exile in the island of Kusale by the brutal soldiery, who also sacked and burned the houses of the whites. He

admitted the indignities which our citizens have suffered, and forwarded, as was stated, an "ultimatum" to Madrid, demanding that the missionaries be reinstated and that an indemnity be paid. This was very good.

That was over a year ago, and still the missionaries are on a lone island in the Pacific waiting, with rare Christian patience, for this government to redress their wrongs. Where is our "brilliant foreign policy"? Where are the "proud privileges" and "immunities" which, we are taught, appertain to American citizenship?

President Harrison in his recent message dilated on the outcome of the Chilian episode, but in a half-dozen lines impotently lamented that the stain inflicted on our national life in a not less grave but more obscure instance had not been wiped out. Here is what he says:

> Our intercourse with Spain continues on a friendly footing. I regret, however, not to be able to report as yet the adjustment of the claims of the American missionaries arising from the disorders at Ponape, in the Caroline Islands, but I anticipate a satisfactory adjustment.

Brilliant foreign policy, indeed! We wonder how many days it would take "effete old England" in a similar case to get redress for her wronged subjects?

What say you, annexationists, to this? Will you desert the flag which in any part of the world compels the recognition of your rights, *not after years of suffering*, but immediately your claim is brought to notice?

• • • •

Prof. G. R. Parkin at a recent lecture in Toronto, Canada, alluded to the maritime standing of

the Dominion,* and pointed out that while she assumed no responsibility she depended entirely upon the mother country for protection. He further said:

"Sir Charles Tupper told me I was doing wrong in suggesting this, but I replied that I would be ashamed of the name of Canadian if I were to claim the protection of the British flag in every part of the world and not be in favor of Canadians assuming their fair share of responsibility."

* The shipping registered in Canada in 1891 was 1,005,495 tons; in the United States, 946,696; in the German Empire, 1,320,725; in France, 2,116,077; in Great Britain, 7 978,538.

First drink a health, this solemn night,
A health to England, every guest;
That man's the best cosmopolite
Who loves his native country best.
May freedom's oak for ever live
With stronger life from day to day;
That man's the best Conservative
Who lops the mouldered branch away.

— Tennyson.

The Immorality of Naturalization.

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NATIONALITY, as has been shown, being the outcome of a process of nature, and patriotism being essential to the welfare of the state, anything which would impair or throw discredit on these characteristics of man must of necessity be against good morals and impolitic as well.

The present naturalization procedure of the nations involves *denationalization*, which is a dangerous and unjustifiable admission of the vulnerability of character. In this act it would seem that the individual sacrifices a great moral principle to expediency.

Now, the existence of this moral principle will be denied by many on the apparently sufficient ground that they cannot feel in the slightest degree any scruples of conscience over denationalization. They therefore conclude that, not feeling it, it does not exist. This might be conclusive if the experience was universal, but such is not the case. A few — but a small percentage, perhaps — experience a revulsion of feeling at the contemplation of forswearing their country. If this occurs in normal beings—and there is ample proof that it does—then it conclusively proves the existence of the principle.

The sense of patriotism and love of country constitutes a virtue not to be tampered with or ad-

versely legislated on, even indirectly. It would be right to permit the foreigner, under restrictions honorable to himself, to settle among the people of another nation and take part in the affairs of government. It is the duty of the state to stimulate and conserve, not only from motives of morality but from motives of policy, every manly, independent and noble sentiment which may be peculiar to the individual, native or foreign-born.

The state would claim that, even admitting the existence of the principle alluded to, naturalization is necessary in order to preserve the integrity and safety of the nation. The error of this position consists in the assumption that naturalization is the *only* way of securing the end of safety.

The writer realizes that it is a condition and not a theory which confronts us; that all people are not at present high-minded and noble; that the foreigner, if given suffrage, may, unless he be obligated in some way to the contrary, work untold injury to the land of his adoption. He also realizes that many high-souled men are to be found among the emigrant class. These latter are the ones who, under the present system of the so-called civilized nations, are sacrificed to the supposed exigencies of the situation. But it is probably true that he who conceives acutely of loyalty to one will not be recreant to the accepted trust reposed in him by another.

As to the substitute for naturalization: Let the state enact a law which will require from every applicant for citizenship an oath promising no more than that he will uphold the laws, the constituted authority and institutions of the nation which is about to possess him. *Let it not require of him the unnatural proceeding of forswearing his native country.* Whenever there is doubt of the moral or intellectual fitness of the individual to assume the obligation, suffrage should be withheld: herein would be the true and only natural safeguard for the national life. Every regulation should be provided up to the limit of safety to the state, and no further; beyond that it is an outrage on the individual.

This system would doubtless prevent, particularly in the United States, many such as are now naturalized and voters from availing themselves of the franchise, but all admit that there is need of reform in this matter. On the other hand, the ballot could and would be availed of by a large number of honest, intelligent and trustworthy immigrants who could never otherwise use it. The state would be the gainer; patriotism and individual development would be fostered; but what is of primary importance, the government would attain the object of self-protection in a just and not in an unjust manner.

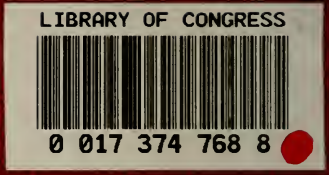
To Recapitulate.

Canadians will not become annexed to the United States—

(1) Because they recognize the sacredness and the *utility* of nationality.

(2) Because they have within themselves all the possibilities of healthy growth.

(3) Because they hope to share in the glories of a *natural* British federation.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